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ABSTRACT

During the 1960's, there was growing awareness that without competent teachers who understand the problems of ghetto life, further deterioration of the educational process was virtually assured. The first half of this paper traces the growth of this awareness through the writings of leading educators and through an examination of teacher education programs which were established to implement their proposals. These include Project 120 at Hunter College, the Associated Colleges of the Midwest Urban Semester Program, the Inner-City Teacher Education Project in Missouri, the Syracuse University Urban Teacher Preparation Program, the Inter-Institutional Program Development Project, the Sausalito Teacher Education Project (STEP), and the Cooperative Urban Teacher Education Program (CUTE). The second part of the paper deals with future prospects for inner-city teacher education and examines the challenges facing the teacher, economic factors affecting teacher supply and demand, and the desirable characteristics of inner-city teachers. The need for exposure to inner-city conditions during training is emphasized, as are the problems of language and communication, reading skills, individualized instruction, and the increased use of paraprofessional personnel. (MBM)

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UNIQUE CHALLENGES OF PREPARING TEACHERS FOR INNER-CITY SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

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FOREWORD

The nation's expressed concerns about improving educational opportunities for its inner-city children and youth ultimately comes to rest at a point of decision: What is to be done about pre- and in-service preparation of schools personnel? Other factors--materials, equipment, facilities, organizational patterns, and so forth--are important but not sufficient if inner-city education is to reflect verbalized goals for improvement.

Concern for the inner city has produced a proliferation of efforts. Now there is a history on which to base emerging programs. The senior author has had a rich experience in conceptualizing and operating projects. The projects in which he has been a major guiding force have received widespread publicity and recognition, including Distinguished Achievement Awards in 1966 and 1970 from the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. In writing this monograph he has been ably assisted by Bryce B. Hudgins, who is professor of education at Washington University.

The accompanying bibliography may be updated by checking recent issues of Research in Education (RIE) and Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE). Both RIE and CIJE use the same descriptors (index terms). Documents in RIE are listed in blocks according to the code letters of the clearinghouse which processed them, beginning with the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education (AC) and ending with the ERIC Clearinghouse on Vocational and Technical Education (VT). The clearinghouse code letters, which are listed at the beginning of RIE, appear opposite the ED number at the beginning of each entry. "SP" (School Personnel) designates documents processed by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education.

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Like all Clearinghouse publications, this one has been prepared in the expectation that it will move the nation forward in its efforts to improve the lives of the inner city through education--our historic means of upward mobility.

Joel L. Burdin
Director

August 1971

UNIQUE CHALLENGES OF PREPARING TEACHERS FOR INNER-CITY SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

PROGRESS IN PREPARING TEACHERS FOR INNER-CITY SCHOOLS

The decade of the sixties opened with the failures of inner-city schools unrecognized and ended with the problems yet unsolved. However, within this span of years a spotlight was focused upon a national disgrace, giving hope that the collective resources of a committed nation will at last be used to correct these inequities. The opening paragraphs of the Commissioner of Education's annual report titled "The Education Profession 1969-70" acknowledges the failures of schools to provide adequate educational opportunities for children of low-income families. Further substantiation of failure is contained in a statement by the Committee for Economic Development:

> While the American Schools have generally provided middle and upper income youth with the intellectual tools necessary for success in our society, they have commonly failed to cope effectively with the task of educating the disadvantaged youth in our urban centers. To an alarming extent they have simply swept disadvantaged youths under the educational rug (7: 9).

Despite the clearly recognized failure of the educational profession to provide any definitive solution to this explosive problem, some progress has been recorded during the past decade.

School systems in metropolitan centers, faced with a rising tide of inner-city children, have been rudely shaken from the slumbers of comfortable complacency and forced to seek new remedies for an alienated society. Inner-city parents, whose pleas to be heard were so long ignored, occasionally speak with a united and insistent voice. Resources, through programs such as Title I, Headstart, Model Cities, and Teacher Corps, have been channeled into a national effort. Perhaps of greatest importance is the fact that institutions preparing teachers have finally awakened to a realization of the crisis facing society and have begun to accept their share of responsibility in attacking the problem.

This awakening is especially significant because the preparation of well-trained, effective, committed teachers appears to be the cornerstone of any solution to the downward spiral of inner-city educational opportunities. Without competent teachers who understand the problems of ghetto life and of the children who are products of this life, further deterioration of the educational process is virtually assured.

A concern for the educational neglect of children from the lower socio-economic strata and an awareness of the necessity for teacher understanding of a pupil's cultural environment surfaced as early as the 1940's. Allison David (10; 11) was one of the first to focus attention on these problems. In 1940, he published with John Dollard a study of the socialization processes of blacks in the deep South and the effect of racial

discrimination and segregation upon these processes. A few years later, he spoke more directly of the necessity for teacher understanding of the life styles of the poor:

> In order to help the child learn, the teacher himself must discover the reference-points from which the child starts. Specifically, the teacher must learn a good deal about the pupils' cultural environment and his cultural motivation, if the teacher is to guide the child's new learning effectively. This necessity for learning the basic culture of the pupil is especially urgent for teachers who work with children of the lower socio-economic groups (11: 1).

With the advent of the civil rights movement in the early 1960's, a general awakening of the national conscience belatedly occurred. Unfortunately, educators were not in the vanguard of those alerting the nation to the intolerable conditions under which the poor, especially the black poor, were forced to exist. According to Ornstein (20), the Education Index first listed the classification "cultural deprivation" in Volume 13, published in 1963 with only 21 entries. By 1969, the number of entries had grown to 370, with several other such headings as city schools, cultural difference, poverty, Negro.

A similar tardy but growing concern for the development of teacher education programs for prospective teachers in inner-city schools is reflected in the programs submitted to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education for its annual Distinguished Achievement Award for Excellence in Teacher Education. This program was conceived as an encouragement for "member colleges and universities . . . to describe their successful programs and that these in turn [would] stimulate others to greater action" (1: 3). In 1966, the program booklet describing programs which colleges and universities submitted for consideration showed seven entries dealing with the preparation of teachers for the inner city or for minority groups. By 1968, the number of such programs listed increased to 17; by 1970, a total of 19 programs were submitted for recognition.

James Conant (8) and Frank Reissman (22) should be given special recognition for their early efforts in alerting the academic community to the growing problem of inner-city education. Conant described the gulf that existed between the educational opportunities of the typical slum child and his more favored counterpart in suburbia. Because of his prestige, Conant's description of the potentially dangerous conditions that existed in ghettos did much to awaken educators to the dangers that lay ahead. Although one may disagree with his solutions, the analysis of the problem was clear and succinct. He summarized the distressing conditions in slum schools by stating:

> Social dynamite is building up in our large cities in the form of unemployed, out-of-school youths, especially in the Negro slums. We need accurate and frank information neighborhood by neighborhood. . . . More teachers and perhaps more pay for teachers are necessary for schools in the slum than in either the high income district of the large cities or the wealthy suburbs. Special training programs for teachers in slum schools are needed (8: 146).

Reissman deserves special recognition for his efforts to inform the public of the cultural aspects of inner-city life and for sensitizing the public to the inadequacies and inequities of educational opportunities for inner-city children. He was also a pioneer in proclaiming the need for reorganization of teacher education programs to prepare prospective teachers to teach in inner-city schools. His recommendations for restructuring traditional teacher education programs have much in common with early attempts at inner-city training and are basically in harmony with programs presently accepted as models:

> There is a real need for a specialized teacher education program directed toward preparing teachers and administrators for working with underprivileged children. This program should be interdisciplinary, enabling education majors to integrate courses in many fields such as applied anthropology, sociology, political science, economics, and psychology. Education training would thus be greatly broadened as well as intensified. The program should also be urban centered; that is, concerned with problems of urban migration and redevelopment. It ought to include an intensive understanding of the nature of the city as viewed by the urban sociologist, the housing expert, the student of government, the economist, and so on. . . .
>
> Knowledge and understanding of the deprived cannot come from courses and books alone, although we should not underestimate their values. *Experiences* can be particularly valuable, especially when they are carefully discussed and observed. Such experiences might include visiting P.T.A. meetings, community centers, schools or classes where some of the problems have been dealt with successfully, parental groups and social clubs. Future teachers should have the opportunity of observing and talking with children from deprived background who are now doing well in school (22: 117-18).

Concurrent with the writings of Conant and Reissman, Hunter College and the New York school system instituted a program, "Project 120," which translated words into deeds. Initiated in 1960, this project was a cooperatively developed student teacher program for prospective inner-city junior high school teachers. Among the basic premises on which the program was developed were:

1. Supervised experience in schools serving lower-class neighborhoods can dispel fears that are based on rumors and ignorance of actual conditions, thus releasing the future teacher to deal more effectively with the real problems of teaching and learning that exist in such schools;
2. A range of direct contacts with community leaders and agencies, as well as with the schools, teachers, and administrators, will enable the student teacher to gain insights concerning pupil backgrounds that they could not otherwise gain; and
3. Support from college and school personnel and a maximum amount of actual classroom experience will give the student teacher increased confidence and en' .nce his professional growth.

A series of visits to significant places in the school community such as social agencies, religious institutions, places of recreation, and law enforcement agencies were provided. Participants took part in interviews

with prominent community persons, such as newspaper editors, political leaders, and leaders of community action groups. The community orientation program was arranged by a sociologist-psychologist who was intimately familiar with the area. He also led follow-up discussions during which the student teachers had opportunity to reflect on and clarify the significance of their observations.

The Associated Colleges of the Midwest (ACM), a consortium of 10 liberal arts colleges located in small, midwestern communities, also provided an important contribution to the preparation of inner-city teachers. The ACM Urban Semester Program, developed in conjunction with the Chicago Public School System, enabled students to spend 16 weeks observing, teaching, and studying in Chicago. The program combined teaching experience with interdisciplinary seminars. Students and faculty were housed in an apartment hotel, making help available on a regular basis and facilitating a constant exchange of ideas among students and faculty. In 1963, a plan to involve a consortium of colleges in a program based in an urban center some distance from the friendly confines of participating institutions was a move verging on educational heresy.

A somewhat more extensive preservice program was designed cooperatively by Central Missouri State College and the Kansas City, Missouri, public school system. Initiated in 1964, the Inner City Teacher Education Project utilized an interdisciplinary instructional team composed of faculty members from the fields of sociology, psychology, reading, and education. The project provided for two consecutive 12-week blocks taken during the participant's senior year. Block one correlated professional subject matter with orientation to the inner city. Activities on campus consisted of seminars, discussions, lectures, and work in a material center. Off-campus activities included extensive visits to inner-city homes, schools, and public and private agencies. Conferences with personnel from these institutions and with community leaders were an integral part of the instructional program. Block two was a full-time, inner-city student teaching experience combined with on-the-job seminars under the supervision of the college staff, personnel from the Kansas City School system, and representatives of public and private agencies serving the inner-city community.

Also in 1964, the Syracuse University School of Education initiated an inner-city teacher preparation program which combined a year of graduate study leading to a master's degree with a paid internship experience in laboratory schools designated by the Syracuse Public School system. Termed the Urban Teacher Preparation Program, it included a 6-week summer session in which interns observed and engaged in limited supervised teaching in a demonstration school. Summer session afternoons were devoted primarily to seminars on methods and the sociological and psychological backgrounds of inner-city children. During the regular school year, each intern received an appointment in the Syracuse School system, teaching half days during the entire school year and spending afternoons in seminars and courses which stressed practical solutions to problems faced every day in inner-city classrooms. A public school supervising teacher was selected to work closely with each group of eight interns.

These programs, along with similar projects at California State College at Los Angeles and at Queens College in New York, are typical of

initial efforts to improve the preparation of inner-city teachers. Because the majority of educators apparently were not aware of the deplorable conditions in inner-city schools, these early programs had a limited impact on traditional methods for preparing teachers.

The sparse attempts to introduce realistic training activities for prospective inner-city teachers were bolstered by the initiation of the Teacher Corps program through a provision of the Higher Education Act of 1965. One of its primary purposes was to encourage colleges and universities to broaden their programs of teacher preparation. Thus, the program's intent was to provoke change in traditional teacher training methods rather than establish a competing system of professional preparation. Hopefully, reforms introduced would, if successful, be continued by the participating institutions. Generally, programs sought to recruit young liberal arts graduates to serve as interns at paraprofessional pay while preparing to teach inner-city children. From this training, interns would earn teaching certification and, perhaps, a master's degree.

The introduction of programs for teacher preparation with a national identification outside the established structure has caused some consternation in educational circles. Interns have sometimes, with annoying consequences, disturbed the status quo. Their zeal in organizing programs reaching out to community residents has not been appreciated in every instance by caretakers of the established public school system. Although controversy as to the value of the Teacher Corps continues, it has had an impact on existing teacher education programs; and in its role as a change agent outside the existing structure, it has made a contribution to the alteration of teacher training patterns.

Any discussion of teacher preparation for core city schools would be incomplete without mention of the National NDEA Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth. This project, begun in 1966, was supported by the U.S. Office of Education under Title XI of the National Defense Education Act and operated by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. In determining an approach to the problem, project personnel identified two primary needs:

> First, the need for immediate improvement of in-service and preservice training programs for teachers of the disadvantaged who are daily confronted with crucial pedagogical decisions drew a response in the form of a wide-ranging program of field activities involving personnel at all levels and stages of teacher preparation, from student teachers to administrators of doctoral programs.
>
> Second, the need for leadership in the long-range tasks of clarifying issues, defining problems, and identifying appropriate directions and developments with respect to substantial improvement of teacher education resulted in the creation of the National Steering Committee and Task Force, a group which, with its liaison and consultant members, has remained remarkably stable throughout the two years, despite the heavy commitments of its members. Thus, the Institute's work has been built on the creative interaction (and sometimes tensions) between the immediate problems and questions raised from the results of the ongoing field programs, and the more complex and less formulated pressure for long-range improvements in the field of teacher education in general (18: 2-3).

Formation of the Inter-Institutional Program Development Project was the strategy selected to meet the first need. This project involved 25 groups formed through varied interinstitutional arrangements including colleges, school systems, regional educational laboratories, and community action groups in different regions throughout the United States. Their task was to conduct pilot projects or training programs designed to remedy some of the glaring inadequacies in inner-city teacher preparation. From this effort came some programs which promise to have a lasting impact on the preparation of inner-city teachers. Space limitation enables the brief mention of only a few of the more fully developed programs.

The Sausalito Teacher Education Project (STEP) was a San Francisco State College-Sausalito School District cooperative attempt to change the structure of teacher education. Program content was based on the assumption that improvement in the teacher education curriculum required the concurrent growth of the following five groups: (a) college faculty, (b) college students, (c) school district personnel, (d) pupils enrolled in the districts, and (e) citizens in the community.

The program was designed to effect change in both preservice and inservice education. The preservice component consisted of a three-semester sequence of experiences and instruction in an off-campus teacher education center located in the Sausalito School District. Field experiences and seminars conducted by an interdisciplinary staff from San Francisco State College were designed to give students maximum course content, direct experience, interpersonal development, problem solving, and evaluation.

Project staff members also held a series of small-group orientation meetings with Sausalito school personnel. Two special resource teachers conducted a special inservice course and were available for full-time, inservice work with classroom teachers. The project staff served as classroom consultants and were available for demonstration teaching. A community worker was employed to serve as a liaison person between school personnel and parents of pupils and was responsible for activating parent groups to plan and execute activities related to parental interests.

Another program which is supported by the Inter-Institutional Program Development Project and which has received national recognition is the Cooperative Urban Teacher Education (CUTE) program. The project was developed cooperatively by Mid-continent Regional Educational Laboratory, Kansas City, Missouri; the public school systems of Kansas City, Missouri and Kansas City, Kansas; and 13 liberal arts colleges. The program was initiated in the fall of 1967 and since that time has expanded to include more than 40 institutions of higher education and six public and private school systems in a three-state area. Programs utilizing a similar conceptual framework have been established in Nebraska, Illinois, New York, and Tennessee. The U.S. Commissioner of Education's 1969-70 report (19) includes it among programs that have made outstanding attempts to bring together many of the elements necessary for a realistic practical preparation for teachers of the economically disadvantaged.

One of the unique aspects of the program is the high degree of interinstitutional cooperation. It has focused the resources of many diverse

agencies on the single problem of preparing inner-city teachers. The program also has demonstrated clearly that a large number of small, but committed, institutions can cooperate in establishing an effective inner-city program.

Program goals are to prepare teachers who (1) understand both their own and their pupils' attitudes, insecurities, anxieties and prejudices; (2) understand both their own and their pupils' environment and culture; and (3) are knowledgeable of and competent in reflective teaching methods for inner-city learners. An interdisciplinary instructional staff including mental health specialists, a sociologist, and teacher educators works with a variety of community resource persons to achieve these goals. Although students enroll in their respective institutions, the program is housed entirely in the inner city. Thus, the urban community has become the campus and various community agencies--educational and non-educational --are laboratories for learning. These laboratories serve as centers for flexibly designed experiences chosen to bring students into contact with the harsh realities of life in the core city and the failures of the educational system. Child study techniques, case studies, interaction analysis, microteaching, observations, teaching, and intensive involvement with both children and adults of the inner-city community are integral elements of the instructional strategies employed. The importance attached to teacher self-understanding is a significant aspect of the program. Psychiatrists working on the CUTE staff have made a unique contribution to this previously neglected area.

Four years of successful experience with the program have provided data showing the necessity for further development of inner-city teacher preparation materials on a comprehensive scale. The Mid-continent Regional Educational Laboratory is currently developing additional products including: (1) introductory undergraduate training packages to provide prospective teachers with an understanding of the many social and educational problems of the inner city, (2) an intensive training program to enhance the preparation of inner-city supervising teachers, and (3) 1-year inservice program for inexperienced inner-city teachers.

A third project growing out of the Inter-Institutional Program Development Project was initiated by Fordham University in 1967. The Fordham approach stresses on-the-job training for teachers with the support and cooperation of the university. The project encompasses both undergraduate and graduate training in which field experiences are interwoven with college theory. The program begins with initial emphases on the physical, psychological, and social factors affecting the development of urban children. In addition to college classroom content, participants serve in schools as aides and assistants in social work agencies. A second phase combines college-based learning and teaching theory with apprentice teaching. Students who successfully complete this phase may receive the provisional state teaching certificate and are appointed by the school system as beginning teachers. This designation makes possible some adjustments in teaching load, with provision for smaller classes, a shorter teaching day, and closer supervisory assistance when necessary.

A third phase of the program takes the beginning teacher through his first year of teaching. During this year, a highly individualized training program is provided in which university instructors work individually with beginning teachers on problems related to their particular situations. Increased flexibility, interdisciplinary seminars, realistic field experiences, and utilization of community residents in training procedures are important features of the Fordham program.

The above programs appear to be representative of a growing trend toward specific preparation for inner-city teaching. Although each program has its own distinctive characteristics, common elements are discernible which seem to indicate a trend toward making teacher education more flexible in providing realistic preparation for potential inner-city teachers. The following points appear to be pertinent:

1. Most importantly, each program seems to reflect the realization that prospective inner-city teachers must be aware of life in the inner city and the problems facing teachers and pupils as they work together.
2. Each program seems to reflect the growing realization that urban school systems must be an integral part of any program designed to prepare inner-city teachers.
3. Each program reflects the necessity for an interdisciplinary approach to the preparation of teachers.
4. Each program reflects the necessity for more flexible scheduling of a prospective inner-city teacher's time to enable him to become familiar with the inner-city environment.

The accomplishments of the past decade provide no cause for boasting in the education profession. Evidence of apathy and unconcern far outweigh the record of accomplishment. Models for the improvement of inner-city teacher education programs are available. Positive action by committed educational leaders can translate these models into a comprehensive attack on inner-city educational problems if they have the desire to do so.

PROSPECTS FOR INNER-CITY TEACHER EDUCATION

It would be a mistake to undervalue the achievement represented by the programs described in the first section of this monograph. Whatever their deficiencies may be, they are milestones in American education. Their development marks a recognition by the society generally and the teacher education profession specifically that traditional programs of teacher education which hypothetically train teachers to deal adequately with an undifferentiated pupil population are not satisfactory for the preparation of teachers for inner-city schools.

There is, of course, more than a mere possibility that the more orthodox programs for educating new teachers are equally unsatisfactory, or nearly so, for preparing teachers to cope with pupils in any stratum of our society. Thus, the effort to identify problems of education for the culturally disadvantaged and to conceptualize programs for educating their teachers may in the end have a salutory effect upon the whole of teacher education.

Thus, we may say that the signal accomplishment to date lies in the fact that several programs of education especially designed to educate teachers for effective functioning in inner-city schools have been developed and are at the present time in operation. As indicated at the end of the previous section, the programs share some common elements and strategies--principally revolving around the aims of acquainting prospective teachers with life in the inner-city--and some common problems confronting both children and teachers who live and work in the central part of an urban area.

What are future prospects for inner-city teacher education? There are sometimes fears expressed that the education of inner-city teachers will become a specialized occupation in itself, increasingly divorced from the mainstream of teacher education and professional education in all its aspects. Such an outcome could have tragic consequences for the city-dwelling child and young person, one of whose current problems is a separation from as well as alienation from the larger society.

Although it would be a mistake to think of education of inner-city teachers in terms of models that are unrelated to general teacher education programs, it would be equally erroneous to regard the appropriate education of the inner-city teacher as the same as that for any other teacher, with a dash of sociology and a pinch of the psychology of cultural deprivation thrown in along the way.

The challenges that face the teacher who works in the core of our cities are great. Many of the children suffer from severe academic handicaps before they enter kindergarten. Year after year, these deficiencies may become larger. The teacher and the school which he represents are but a portion of the influences that impinge upon the life space of the child, and frequently they fight a battle against overwhelming odds. The gains that teachers bring about may be erased if the child lives in a world of inadequate housing; inadequate food; poor medical and dental care; and adults who are themselves ill-educated and so beset with the problems of keeping their children fed, housed, and protected from a hostile environment that they have neither the time nor energy to provide the intellectual stimulation which is so much a part of the home and family life of most middle-class children.

Until recently the recruitment of candidates for positions as teachers in inner-city schools has been difficult. Frequently the teaching cadre has been predominantly black or composed of people from other minority groups, if for no other reason than that Negro teachers have encountered resistance in the suburban school districts. That resistance seems to be diminishing, but it will probably take years to disappear.

In most inner-city areas, teachers with experience and seniority have typically had the prerogative of transferring from one school to another. The transfers tend to have the effect of placing young and inexperienced teachers in inner-city neighborhood schools where the demands upon teachers' personal security and maturity and upon their professional competence and dedication are great.

At least three factors are now operating which will change the placement patterns of teachers in the inner city in the foreseeable future. Each of these factors has implications for new and exciting programs designed to train teachers for the cities. First, the current recessed state of the economy has resulted in numerous retrenchments in school districts across the country. Linked with the repeated failures of many school districts to obtain voter support for sustaining or increasing operating levies, services of many kinds have been sharply reduced or eliminated entirely. Although reductions in the size of teaching staffs is one of the last cuts that school administrations will make, expansions at this time are rare. The more typical pattern is reduction through attrition; as teachers resign, their positions are eliminated. Secondly, by our interpretation of long range projections for teacher supply and demand, the number of teaching positions available, relative to the number of college students pursuing careers in teaching, will continue to diminish. These two factors tend to point to the same outcome of course, that the competition for teaching positions at all levels will become keener. In addition, it appears probable that applicants for jobs in the inner city who are not specifically trained to serve the clientele of the area will not be employed. Put positively, the prospects that inner-city teacher education programs will have a defined role and market seem greatly enhanced. Thirdly, the kind of people who should be selected to teach children in the inner city will continue to be an issue of significance. As a profession, we have never had satisfactory answers to the questions dealing with the identification of potentially successful and long-tenured teachers.

Freedman (13) reported that a sample of college students who volunteered to do their student teaching in reputedly difficult inner-city situations have different patterns of personality characteristics than other student teachers who refused such assignments. The volunteers were described as striving more for autonomy and as less authoritarian, dogmatic, rigid, fearful, and diffident than the non-volunteers. Freedman regards these characteristics as more suitable for inner-city teachers as no doubt they are. However, the authors are not aware of any teaching positions which are better served by inflexible, authoritarian individuals than by people who are more open, accepting, and willing to meet and cope with challenges as they arise. This may be simply to say that whenever a role is defined within an occupational or professional group as difficult, demanding, ambiguous, challenging, and involving high degrees of risk and uncertainty, coupled with the possibility for considerable reward (in social recognition and appreciation if not in dollars), those individuals who relish admission into the role are likely to be the more aggressive and self-assured rather than the timid, anxious, and insecure members of the occupational population.

Increasing knowledge about the nature of inner-city schools, the pupils who inhabit them, and problems daily confronting their teachers will be required as a basis for the revision of existing programs or the construction of new ones by program planners. Such data are obviously being generated. For example, in a simple questionnaire study, Cruickshank and Leonard (9) asked 287 elementary school teachers in 12 of the major public school systems

in the nation to identify the most serious and persistent problems they encounter in their teaching roles. A total of 45 items were identified by more than one-third of the sample of teachers. Those items were collapsed into nine major categories, as follows:

1. Problems which seem to involve disruptive or disturbing student behavior;
2. Problems which seem to arise out of student home condition;
3. Problems of parent-school relationships;
4. Problems of working with the exceptional child;
5. Problems of providing for individual differences;
6. Problems of child-to-child relationships;
7. Problems of building skills in independent work;
8. Problems of school conditions; and
9. Problems of the child's self and self-concept.

Two other points about this little study deserve mention. One is that almost one-third of the specific items mentioned by the teachers were subsumed under the general category of pupil disruption or disturbing behavior. The second point is that three items pertaining to the children's language development were ranked first, second, and third by the teachers both on the dimension of frequency and seriousness. These items are:

1. Lack of appropriate reading materials in the home;
2. Working with children with reading difficulties; and
3. Dealing with children who have limited vocabulary and speech patterns.

To be sure, problems other than those identified by this sample of teachers would vie with them for importance, and we would not seriously recommend that a teacher education program ought to be constructed solely around a listing of problems encountered by practitioners. Obviously, there are other dimensions and other kinds of concerns which must enter into the construction of teacher education curricula. Nonetheless, teacher problems do constitute one important dimension to which curriculum planners might attend profitably.

It will hardly be news to teacher educators that problems of reading, language, and classroom discipline crop up frequently in inner-city classrooms. These areas have traditionally been identified as troublesome ones by teachers, especially beginning teachers. No other factor affects the school success of the child as much as his verbal skills and abilities. Without the capability of reading, writing, and speaking effectively, the child's educational deficits increase from one school year to another. We have long witnessed the vicious, downward spiral in which children are caught when this happens--a spiral leading to mutual rejection between themselves and the establishment in the school, years of unhappiness for all parties concerned, and finally the departure from school by the pupil at the earliest possible time.

When teacher education programs expose prospective teachers to life in the inner city, in homes, on the streets, and in the schools, they can do a great deal to acquaint the student teacher with the non-standard English language patterns of inner-city children. Beyond acquainting the teacher with such patterns, appropriate exposure and interpretation can help guard against the development of negative attitudes on the part of

new teachers. These attitudes inevitably are communicated to the child who then learns that the school and his teacher devalue him and the people with whom he identifies, that is, his family and his peer group. Necessary and important as it is for teachers to understand the child's language and to respect his efforts at communication, teacher education programs have not given sufficient attention to the special problems of language and reading that teachers encounter in the inner city. One reason is that insufficient knowledge exists at this time, although reading and language specialists are trying to extend their own understanding and ultimately that of the classroom teacher.

Labov (17), for example, argues against the development of reading primers written in the Negro vernacular for, although they might ease the child's entry into reading, the norms for language usuage in the adult Negro community are the same as for the adult white community, that is, standard English usage. "The Negro adults we have interviewed would agree almost unanimously that their children should be taught standard English in school. Any other policy would probably meet with strong opposition" (17: 6).

As a means of motivating children to learn standard English patterns of expression, Labov suggests that teachers show how language can be used to exercise control and power over others, a skill that is highly prized by the children of the inner city. "Any strategy which gives him strong motivation for reading and writing in standard English should be followed; we are all too familiar with the fact that success or failure in these fundamental skills is an important determinant of success or failure in the school program as a whole" (17: 7).

To prepare teachers for the inner city who are increasingly effective, teacher education programs must confront the difficult problems of language and communication. Studies in the development of language and instruction in reading for inner-city teachers must be assigned a very high priority in the education of teachers.

Current claims for the benefits to children of learning in open classrooms and other free situations abound. While these claims are for the most part based upon faith and hope at this time rather than firm evidence, we must not overlook the centrality of individualized instruction in all such classroom arrangements. Teacher education programs for inner cities must begin to provide their graduates with careful and explicit training and experience in the conduct and administration of individualized programs. The Individually Prescribed Instruction (IPI) Program, developed at the Learning Research and Development Center of the University of Pittsburgh and disseminated through Research for Better Schools in Philadelphia, is a prototype of programs that not only individualize instruction for children in several areas (arithmetic, language arts, and science) but also develop detailed guides for training teachers to work in individualized instructional programs.

Although preliminary evaluations have not revealed that culturally disadvantaged children improve their standing in arithmetic markedly as a result of an individualized program, the IPI program does tend to alter children's attitudes toward arithmetic (14). There seem to be satisfactions

in individualized instruction for inner-city children that manifest themselves in tangible and welcome forms. For example, the agency responsible for promoting and assessing the utilization of IPI Programs reports, "One school, ghetto in nature, has reduced police contacts from an average of 137 per year to an average of one per year. Broken windows, once a serious problem, have all but disappeared as a source of concern" (21: 24).

Fundamental to a teacher's ability to help children develop a curriculum suited to their level of educational attainment, their needs, and their interests, is his competence in individual educational diagnosis and prescription. Teacher education programs at all levels are notoriously deficient with respect to these skills. Yet it is our belief that the success of inner-city training programs will hinge upon the extent to which they close the gap between and demands that teachers must meet in individualizing instruction and the level of diagnostic and prescriptive skill development that programs currently tend to provide for preservice and inservice teachers.

Furthermore, there is evidence that teachers' workloads skyrocket when they endeavor to provide individualization for their pupils. The demand for a variety of differentiated roles in the adult social structure of the school is becoming increasingly clear. We envision a structure which includes professional as well as paraprofessional roles, such as the aides, clerks, and checkers already in use in a variety of programs.

The term "master teacher" has been used repeatedly in discussions of role differentiation and the initiation of novice teachers into the profession, but its use tends to connote a craftsman whose years of experience have lent a polish and refinement to the traditional skills of teaching that beginners possess in much rougher form. This usage is contrary to what we anticipate will happen in inner-city schools in the next decade, and we prefer the term "senior instructor" as a means of keeping that role distinct from the other. The senior instructor will be so named principally by virtue of his professional knowledge, judgment, and skill. These variables in turn will operate chiefly in the arena of the diagnosis and remediation of the individual educational problems of children. Often, of course, such problems will be problems of learning--the child who cannot "remember" the words he read yesterday, the one who cannot spell or master subtraction facts, et cetera. However, the skill and judgment of the senior instructor will apply also to the social behavior and interpersonal relationships of the child.

The education of the inner-city teacher must begin to reflect the realities of the task that confronts him. Not every inner-city teacher will remain in teaching long enough to advance to the position of what we have called senior instructor or perhaps be capable of assuming the responsibilities and exercising the skills that are necessary to occupy the role. Nonetheless, to an extent, the kind of teacher education required for such a position helps to illuminate the educational demands for all inner-city positions.

Courses in the individualization of instruction must become a part of the education of inner-city teachers. The task is too formidable and

the problems insurmountable for each teacher to attempt such individualization on her own initiative. These courses must include not only attention to psychological principles of differentiation but also at least an initial approximation of the skills of diagnosis in reading, spelling, arithmetic, et cetera. A portion of this course must be clinical in nature, that is, affording the teacher education student an opportunity to observe and consult with an experienced teacher-diagnostician and to undertake preliminary diagnosis of his own under directed supervision.

Individuals who are to serve in the capacity of senior instructors naturally will require additional specialized training in individual diagnosis and prescription beyond the courses outlined immediately above, which are intended as first-round preservice elements of teacher education. The senior instructor will also be trained to the level of being able to provide some guidance and training for other, less well-trained members of the instructional team.

Similarly, inner-city teacher education programs must develop companion courses in the diagnosis and adjustment of individual social behavior. From his sociological introduction to the inner city, the prospective teacher is knowledgeable about the impact of poverty and its related problems upon the socio-psychological functioning of children. But the prospective teacher needs practice in applying that knowledge to the reality of an inner-city school. Again, the role of directed practice in a clinical setting is imperative.

One of Goodlad's (15) central criticisms of programs of teacher education is that the professional courses in education tend to be about education instead of directly involving the trainee in the vital problems of teaching children. This criticism is particularly apt to programs for inner-city teachers. The teacher in training, who is likely to be a middle-class person, has little or no direct experience with the inner city and its residents. Unless teacher education programs provide generous portions of direct and interpreted experience with the inner city, the problems of taacher failure and dropout from inner-city teaching will continue much as we have known them in the past.

Our review of current, successful programs stressed their direct experience components. Without doubt such direct experiences in the community and in neighborhood schools have been among the chief contributors to the success and the viability of those programs. There is every reason to believe that such components will be strengthened in the future. In addition, not only is the experience itself significant, but also the interpretations made of it by the novice are crucial. For this reason, if no other, we anticipate and we would urge that professional teacher educators be housed in the local schools in which the education of their students is occurring. Colleges and universities will continue to play a signficant role in the education of teachers for the inner city through the knowledge and the attitude of detachment they are capable of applying to such education. At the same time, the inner-city community, including its schools, is the laboratory in which the prospective teacher is to learn his business. But experience in the educational laboratory without guidance, direction, and help in interpreting the meaning of events may

be as psychologically bewildering and nearly as physically dangerous as unguided experimentation would be for the naive student in a chemistry laboratory.

To this point, our discussion of inner-city teacher education has been restricted to established, traditional patterns that define prospective teachers as college students who spend some portion of their time, usually in their senior or MAT year, observing, studying, and teaching in a school similar to the one in which they will plan to teach the following year. However, there is a new pattern emerging, exemplified by the Career Opportunities Program (COP) of the Bureau for Educational Personnel Development, U.S. Office of Education. Under this program, talented young people from low-income areas are given the chance to learn supporting roles in inner-city classrooms. It seems reasonable to expect that such apprenticeship activities coupled with appropriate college credit will lead to the possibility of a new, less formal avenue into inner-city teacher education.

Such an approach would also generate, as a necessary by-product, the development of new teacher education roles within the inner-city school itself. Over the long haul perhaps, we will see a fundamental change in the assignment and locus of the teacher educator. For the foreseeable future, however, programs such as COP offer an attractive alternative to the traditional pattern of preparing teachers for the inner city.

One of the most important and promising developments in inner-city teacher education comes under the heading of what we called data-based program planning. Such planning depends upon the generation and utilization of data to provide the planner with information about the extent to which his program currently meets its objectives. After each cycle of the program, whether it be a 1-week workshop or a full-year's preservice teacher education program, the planner can revise his program in anticipation of the next cycle.

As an example of such program planning, consider the Workshop for the Training of Supervising Teachers, a component of the Inner City Teacher Education Program at the Mid-continent Regional Educational Laboratory. This component will be implemented during the 1971-72 academic year, beginning with a 2-week workshop the latter half of August, 1971. It will continue with five inservice workshops spaced through the first half of the 1971 autumn semester. The overall purposes of the workshop are to provide explicit training in supervision skills for experienced teachers who will be working with student teachers in the inner city, to give them models for evaluating teaching performance, and to give them specific training in helping the student teacher to improve his teaching skills.

Objectives have been specified for each element of the program, and evaluation instruments are currently under construction. The plan of the system is to provide feedback to the staff as the program proceeds or within a short period of time afterwards. The program planner can subsequently revise their activities and strategies for the next group of teachers and student teachers with a degree of assurance that the changes they make will be productive.

Clearly the education profession must accept the challenge to improve the preparation of inner-city teachers. The disastrous consequences of continued inactivity provide no other real alternative. Although progress toward this goal has been something less than impressive, the prospects for accelerated movement are encouraging. Research is providing data which educators may use with some degree of confidence. Awareness of the need for change is growing, the encouragement at the national level through professional organizations and the U.S. Office of Education is increasing. There can be no excuse for failure to educate properly the children of all our people.

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